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Message Text

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INFO OCT-01 EA-06 ISO-00 ACDA-05 SAJ-01 IO-04 SAM-01 EB-04

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AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
AMEMBASSY OSLO
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY REYKJAVIK
USLO PAKING
AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM
AMEMBASSY TAIPEI
AMEMBASSY TOKYO

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 COPENHAGEN 3074

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PFOR, DA CH
SUBJ: PRIME MINISTER HARTLING'S VISIT TO CHINA

REF: COPENHAGEN 2950 (NOTAL) USNATO 6053

SUMMARY: PRIME MINISTER HARTLING'S VISIT TO CHINA LAST
WEEK INVOLVED TWO LENGTHY NEGOTIATING SESSIONS WITH VICE
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PREMIER TENG HSIAO-P'ING, A HALF HOUR HOSPITAL DISCUSSION
WITH CHOU EN-LAI, AND A SURPRISE ONE HOUR MEETING WITH

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CHAIRMAN MAO AT A UNDISCLOSED RENDEZVOUS OUTSIDE PEKING. DURING THE TALKS THE DANES URGED THE CHINESE TO USE THEIR INFLUDENCE IN THE THRD WORLD TO HELP MODERATE OIL PRICES BEFORE WESTERN EUROPE FACED AN ECONOMIC CALAMITY. FOR THEIR PART THE CHINESE ADOPTED THEIR STANDARD LINE THAT THE MAJOR PROBLEMS IN THE WORLD, INCLUDING THE MIDDLE EAST CRISIS, WERE CAUSED BY THE SUPERPOWERS, WITH THE SOVIET UNION THE CHIEF CULPRIT. BILATERAL DISCUSSIONS WERE GENERALLY LIMITED TO TRADE MATTERS AND AGREEMENT WAS REACHED ON A MIXED COMMISSION WHICH WILL MEET PERIODICALLY. AN AGREEMENT WAS SIGNED TO EXEMPT DANISH SHIPS FROM THE HARBOR TAX IN CHINESE PORTS. IN GENERAL, DANES FOUND IT ALMOST IMPOSSIBLE TO ANALYZE WHAT WAS GOING ON INSIDE CHINA ALTHOUGH THE DELEGATION CAME AWAY WITH THE IMPRESSION THAT CHINA WAS BEGINNING TO OPEN UP A LITTLE MORE TOWARD THE OUTSIDE WORLD. END SUMMARY.

1. TALKS WITH TENG. MFA PERMANENT UNDER SECRETARY EIGIL JORGENSEN GAVE CHARGE' RUNDOWN ON PRIME MINISTER HARTLING'S VISIT TO CHINA OCTOBER 18-27 ON WHICH HE HAD BEEN PRINCIPAL MFA ADVISER. (THIS ACCOUNT WAS SUPPLE-MENTED BY SUBSEQUENT TALK WITH AGERUP, DEPUTY UNDER SECRETARY FOR ECONOMIC POLICY WHO WAS ALSO ALONG.)

2. TWO DAYS HAD BEEN DEVOTED TO NEGOTIATIONS, WITH SESSIONS OF ABOUT 2 1/2 HOURS EACH DAY. THE CHINESE SIDE HAD BEEN LED BY VICE PREMIER TENG HSIAO-P'ING, ABLY SUPPORTED BY DEPUTY FOREIGN MINISTER CHIAO KUAN HUA. JORGENSEN COMMENTED THAT IT WAS DIFFICULT TO TELL WHETHER TENG WAS THE "COMING" MAN BUT HE HAD HEADED THE CHINESE DELEGATION WITH AUTHORITY AND HAD BEEN THE ONLY SENIOR OFFICIAL WHO ACCOMPANIED THE DANES ON THEIR VISIT TO MAO. TENG HAD SPOKEN WITHOUT NOTES, AND HAD ONLY OCCASIONALLY GLANCED AT CHIAO, AS IF FOR REASSURANCE. HARTLING HAD STARTED BY POINTING OUT THAT THE DANES HAD RECOGNIZED THE PEOPLES REPUBLIC IN JANUARY 1950, ONE OF THE FIRST WESTERN COUNTRIES TO DO SO. TENG MENTIONED THIS POINT FAVORABLY SEVERAL TIMES IN THE SUBSEQUENT DISCUSSIONS. TENG SAID THAT THE CHINESE HAD WELCOMED THE CONTINUING DANISH SUPPORT
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FOR THEIR SEATING IN THE UN. ON THIS POINT HARTLING SAID THAT DENMARK DID INDEED WELCOME CHINA AS A MEMBER OF THE UN BUT HAD EXPECTED THAT THE CHINESE WOULD PLAY A MORE PROMINENT ROLE. HE MADE AN APPEAL TO THEM TO EXERCISE THEIR INFLUENCE IN THE UN IN A "RESPONSIBLE" MANNER.

3. HARTLING SAID THAT DENMARK AS A MEMBER OF NATO AND THE EC, TO BOTH OF WHICH IT ATTACHES GREAT IMPORTANCE, HAD ALWAYS ADVOCATED DETENTE AND DISARMAMENT AND WAS, CONSEQUENTLY, A STRONG PROPONENT OF THE CSCE. NEVERTHE-

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LESS, FROM THE DANISH POINT OF VIEW THE MOST IMPORTANT PROBLEM FACING EUROPE TODAY WAS THAT CAUSED BY THE ENERGY CRISIS. THE SUDDEN AND UNEXPECTED INCREASE IN ENERGY PRICES BROUGHT THE DANGER THAT THE ENTIRE WESTERN EUROPEAN ECONOMY WOULD BE UNDERMINED. ANY COLLAPSE WOULD, OF COURSE, HAVE SEVERE REPERCUSSIONS, NOT LIMITED TO THE ECONOMIC FIELD. THESE REPERCUSSIONS MIGHT WELL HAVE THEIR EFFECT IN THE DEFENSE FIELD AND THUS AFFECT THE BALANCE OF POWER IN EUROPE. HARTLING THEN ASKED THE CHINESE LEADERS TO EXAMINE HOW THEY COULD INFLUENCE THE ARAB OIL PRODUCERS TO FOLLOW A MORE MODERATE LINE TOWARD THE CONSUMING COUNTRIES, IN PARTICULAR THOSE IN WESTERN EUROPE WHICH HE CONSIDERED THE MOST VULNERABLE.

4. TENG BEGAN HIS PRESENTATIONS BY STATING THAT THE SOVIET UNION WAS CHINA'S MAIN OPPONENT. THE CHINESE APPRECIATED THE FACT THAT DENMARK WAS A MEMBER OF NATO AND RECOM-MENDED THE DANES DO AS MUCH AS THEY COULD TO RE-ARM THEMSELVES AND TO STRENGTHEN NATO. TENG SAID THE CHINESE ALSO ADVOCATED AN ECONOMICALLY STRONGER EUROPE (I.E., THE EC) FOR THE SAME REASONS. HE SAID BLUNTLY THAT THE STRONGER NATO WAS, THE MORE TROOPS THE SOVIETS HAD TO PLACE IN THE WEST AND THE FEWER THEY HAD TO USE AGAINST THE CHINESE. HE SAID
THE CHINESE DID NOT TRUST THE SOVIET UNION AT ALL, BUT HE CONCEDED THAT THEY WERE NOW /MORE AT EASE" WITH OTHER BIG POWERS -- HE DID NOT SPECIFICALLY MENTION THE US BY NAME. HE MADE PRACTICALLY NO REFERENCE TO OIL OR ENERGY PROBLEMS DURING THIS FIRST SESSION.

5. THE TALKS ON THE SECOND DAY COMMENCED WITH A DIS-
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CUSSION OF BILATERAL PROBLEMS. AN AGREEMENT WAS SIGNED WHICH WILL EXEMPT DANISH SHIPS FROM 3 PERCENT HARBOR TAX IN CHINESE PORTS. JORGENSEN SAID THE DANES REGARD THIS AGREEMENT AS OF SOME IMPORTANCE TO THEM, AND POINTED OUT THAT NORWAY HAS A SIMILAR AGREEMENT. NEGOTIATIONS WERE ALSO CONCLUDED ON ESTABLISHMENT OF A JOINT COM-MITTEE FOR ANNUAL DISCUSSIONS ON TRADE AND ECONOMIC MATTERS. (SEE SEPTEL.) THE DANES HAD COMPLAINED POLITELY THAT THE BALANCE OF TRADE HAD BEEN IN CHINA'S FAVOR FOR SOME TIME, ALTHOUGH THE SITUATION HAD LATELY BEEN IMPROVING. THE CHINESE REJOINED THAT DANISH PRICES WERE QUITE HIGH, WITH TENG ASKING HARTLING WHY HE COULD NOT INSTRUCT DANISH FIRMS TO LOWER THEIR PRICES. CULTURAL ACTIVITIES WERE ALSO DISCUSSED. EACH COUNTRY NOW PAYS FOR A HANDFUL OF STUDENTS TO STUDY IN THE OTHER FOR ONE YEAR; THIS MAY BE EXPANDED TO INCLUDE POST-GRADUATE STUDENTS AND PROFESSORS, AND THE TIME MAY BE EXTENDED TO TWO YEARS SINCE DANISH SINOLOGISTS FIND ONE YEAR INSUFFICIENT.

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THIS EXCHANGE WILL NECESSARILY BE LIMITED, HOWEVER, BECAUSE OF THE LACK OF FUNDS ON THE DANISH SIDE.

6. WHEN THE BILATERAL ASUBJECTS HAD BEEN EXHAUSTED, THE CHINESE GAVE THEIR ANALYSIS OF THE SITUATION IN THE MIDDLE EAST. THEY SAW THE CRISIS THERE AS BASICALLY A CONTEST BETWEEN THE U.S. AND THE SOVIT UNION, AND SAID THE CHINESE DO NOT LIKE THIS INTERFERENCE BY THE TWO SUPERPOWERS. (JORGENSEN COMMENTED DRYLY THAT THERE WERE "NOT MANY NUANCES" IN THE CHINESE ANALYSIS.) TENG SAID THAT THE

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NEA-06 /091 W
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CHINESE COULD SEE THE DANISH POINT THAT THE SUDDEN
INCREASE IN OIL PRICES HAD GIVEN WESTERN EUROPE SERVERE
PROBLEMS. HE ADDED THAT THE SOVIETS MIGHT GET SOME
BENEFIT FROM THIS SITUATION, AS MIGHT THE U.S. WHICH
WAS ITSELF A PRODUCING COUNTRY. CERTAINLY IT WAS NOT THE
INTENTION OF THE ARABS TO STRENGTHEN THE SUPERPOWERS.
THE CHINESE SAID THEY WERE VERY MUCH IN FAVOR OF USING
OIL AS A POLITICAL WEAPON. THE FACT THAT WESTERN
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EUROPE'S ECONOMY WAS IN BAD SHAPE WAS NOT ONLY DUE
TO THE INCREASE IN OIL PRICES. THE CHINESE FEEL THAT
THE DEVELOPING COUNTRIES SHOULD HAVE HIGHER PRICES FOR
THEIR RAW MATERIALS, ALTHOUGH THEY ADMITTED THAT THIS
COULD LEAD TO UNINTENDED DIFFICULTIES FOR WESTERN EUROPE.
TENG SAID THAT THE CHINESE DID NOT HAVE MUCH INFLUENCE
IN THE ARAB WORLD AND WERE NOT EVEN REPRESENTED IN
SAUDI ARABIA, THE MOST IMPORTANT OIL PRODUCER. HARTLING
INTERJECTED TO SAY THAT IN SPITE OF THE FACT THAT CHINA MAY
NOT HAVE NORMAL DIPLOMATIC REALTIONS IN CERTAIN AREAS,
HE WAS CONFIDENT THAT THE CHINESE EXERCISED CONSIDERABLE
INFLUENCE IN THE DEVELOPING COUNTRIES AND HE AGAIN APPEALED
TO THEM TO EXERCISE THIS INFLUENCE. (JORGENSEN COMMENTED
THAT THE DANES COULD NOT BE CERTAIN WHETHER THEIR MESSAGE
HAD ANY EFFECT ON THE CHINESE.) TENG THEN CHANGED THE
SUBJECT TO EMPHASIZE THAT THE CHINESE DO NOT LIKE THE CON-
CEPT OF DETENTE. THEY SAW IT ONLY AS A MEANS FOR THE
SUPERPOWERS TO GET A LITTLE MORE TME TO RE-ARM. HE
REFERRED TO REPORTS FROM WHAT HE CALLED "RELIABLE AMERICAN
SOURCES" THAT THERE WOULD BE A WAR BETWEEN CHINA AND
THE SOVIET UNION. (THIS PUZZLED THE DANES, BUT THEY
WERE NOT ABLE TO GET ANY CLARIFICATION AS TO THESE "SOURCES").
THE WEST SOULD NOT BE TOO NICE TO THE SOVIET UNION.
HARTLING RESPONDED THAT FOR OBVIOUS REASONS THE DANES
FOUND DETENTE NECESSARY. JORGENSEN OBSERVED THAT BOTH
SIDES GAVE THEIR TRADITIONAL VIEWS ON THIS SUBJECT.

7. TALK WITH CHOU EN-LAI. THE DANES WERE TAKEN TO
A PEKING HOSPITAL FOR A HALF-HOUR DISCUSSION WITH CHOU
EN-LAI. TENG AND WANG WERE ALSO PRESENT. THEIR ARRIVAL
AT THE HOSPITAL AND GREETING BY CHOU WAS COVERE BY TV,
PERHAPS, THE DANES THOUGHT, TO INDICATE TO THE CHINESE THAT
CHOU WAS STILL ACTIVE. JORGENSEN SAID THAT HE WAS UNABLE
TO GAUGE THE STATE OF CHOU'S HEALTH BUT HE CERTAINLY HAD A
VERY CLEAR MIND AND SEEMED WELL INFORMED. NOR WAS IT
POSSIBLE FOR THE DANES TO JUDGE HOW MUCH HE IS CONTROLLING
DAY TO DAY EVENTS. HIS QUESTIONS WERE CLEAR AND HE SEEMED
TO BE FOLLOWING DEVELOPMENTS, INCLUDING HARTLING'S PREVIOUS

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TALKS WITH TENG. THE VIEWPOINTS HE PUT FORTH ON THE GEN-
ERAL SITUATION WERE BASICALLY THOSE THE DANES HAD ALREADY
HEARD FROM TENG. CHOU DID ASK ABOUT DANISH AGRICULTURE,
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APPARENTLY TO FIND OUT WHAT DANISH TECHNIQUES MIGHT BE
USEFUL IN CHINA. HE ALSO INQUIRED ABOUT OIL. HE THOUGHT
THE NORTH SEA OIL DISCOVERIES WOULD HELP ALLEVIATE THE
EUROPEAN SITUATION AND WANTED TO KNOW IF THE DANES
HAD DISCOVERED OIL IN GREENLAND. HARTLING COUNTERED BY
ASKING ABOUT THE OIL SITUATION IN CHINA. CHOU SAID THAT
JAPANESE AND SOVIET EXPERTS HAD BEEN UNABLE TO FIND ANY
OIL IN CHINA BUT CHINESE EXPERTS HAD OUND A GOOD DEAL.
THUS FAR THE CHINESE HAD ONLY A SMALL SURPLUS FOR
EXPORT BUT THEY MIGHT PROVE TO HAVE VAST OIL RESERVES.
OF COURSE THEIR DOMESTIC NEEDS WERE INCREASING, HE SAID,
LEAVING THE DANES WITH THE IMPRESSION THAT THE CHINESE
WERE NOT PLANNING TO BECOME MAJOR EXPORTERS IN THE FORE-
SEEABLE FUTURE. HARLING INVITED CHOU TO VISIT DENMARK.
CHOU SAID THAT HE PERSONALLY WOULD NOT BE ABLE TO COME,
WHEREUPON THE DANES GOT THE MESSAGE AND INDICATED THAT
ANOTHER SENIOR OFFICIAL WOULD BE WELCOME.

8. MEETING WITH CHAIRMAN MAO. THE MOST SURPRISING
PART OF THE TRIP, ACCORDING TO JORGENSEN WAS THE UNEXPECTED
DANISH MEETING WITH CHAIRMAN MAO WHICH HAD BEEN HELD
OUTSIDE OF PEKING. ONLY PRIME MINISTER AND MRS.
HARTLING, JORGENSEN, AMBASSADOR PALUDAN AND DEPUTY
UNDER SECRETARY IN THE PRIME MINISTER'S OFFICE, GERSING,
MADE THIS TRIP. THE CHINESE HAD TAKEN A NUMBER OF STEPS
TO INSURE THAT MAO'S WHEREABOUTS WOULD NOT BE REVEALED.
THE DANES HAD PLEDGED NOT TO DISCLOSE WHERE THEY SAW
HIM EXCEPT, JORGESEN SAID, IT WAS "SOMEWHERE TO THE
SOUTH". THE TALK HAD LASTED ON HOUR, BUT AGAIN THE
DANES HAD PROMISED NOT TO REVEAL WHAT MAO HAD SAID
TO THEM. THEY COULD, HOWEVER, MENTION THE TOPICS
DISCUSSED. THESE INCLUDED THE WORLD SITUATION, WITH
PARTICULAR REFERENCE TO THE SUPERPOWERS, CHINESE RELA-
TIONS WITH THE SOVIET UNION, AND THE SITUATION IN CHINA.
JORGENSEN SAID THAT THE DANES ARE STILL WONDERING WHY
MAO CHOSE TO MEET WITH THEM. THEY CAN ONLY CONCLUDE THAT
TO SPIKE RUMORS THAT HE WAS DYING THE CHINESE WANTED
TO SHOW THEIR OWN PEOPLE (AND THE WORLD) THAT HE WAS
STILL ALIVE. THIS WOULD ACCOUNT FOR THE POMINENT TV AND
STILL PHOTO COVERAGE GIVEN TO THE MEETING. JORGENSEN
SAID THAT MAO'S PHYSICAL CONDITION WAS OBVIOUSLY NOT
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GOOD BUT HIS MENTAL FACULTIES SEEMED ALL RIGHT. HE WAS A DIFFERENT PERSONALITY FROM CHOU, MUCH MORE A PHILOSOPHER THAN CHOU WHO HAD IMPRESSED THE DANES AS AN ASTUTE POLITICIAN.

9. IN SUMMING UP, JORGENSEN SAID THAT IT WAS IMPOSSIBLE FOR THE DANISH VISITORS TO ASSESS WHAT WAS GOING ON IN CHINA OR THE INTERPLAY OF FORCES THERE. TALKING THROUGH INTERPRETERS (THE DANES IN ENGLISH) HAD LIMITED THE AMOUNT OF GIVE AND TAKE AND THERE WAS PRACTICALLY NO CHANCE TO GET ANY "FEEL" AS ONE WOULD IN WESTERN COUNTRIES. NEVER-THELESS THE DANES HAD LEFT WITH THE IMPRESSION THAT THE CHINESE WERE SLOWLY OPENING TO THE OUTSIDE WORLD. THE TALKS HAD BASICALLY BEEN GENERAL IN NATURE SINCE, ASIDE FROM MINOR TRADE ISSUES,THERE WERE NO BILATERAL PROBLEMS. UN PROBLEMS AS SUCH HAD NOT BEEN DISCUSSED. THE FACT THAT THE TALKS WERE OF THIS GENERAL NATURE PROBABLY HELPED PRODUCE THE GOOD ATMOSPHERE THE DANES HAD NOTED, JORGENSEN CONCLUDED.
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